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Theoretically, residence is pat-
591 rilocal, yet there are several instances in which it is matrilocal. Theoretically too, the brothers of the family form the powerful or secure in-group and live around a common dance place as a lineage complex. Actually, brothers who cannot get along amicably will scatter. For example, Manifani of Dikimpe, as the eldest brother, lived on his lineage dance place in New Dikimpe; the second brother lived on the dance place of Old Dikimpe; the third had moved to the offspring hamlet of Dikimpe called Maiyamasang; and their two half brothers, by the same father but a different mother, lived at opposite ends of their mother's village of Atimelang. This example is not important in itself, but it does illustrate nicely the flexibility of residence that exists in practice. It can of course be balanced by several instances in which brothers follow the traditional pattern. Expediency and interpersonal relationships outweigh theory and dictate arrangements.

428 Expediency and the industry of the child also determine the inheritance of land; a child is usually given a garden plot as soon as he is old enough to work productively. Both men and women own fields inherited from their fathers or mothers.

262 Dry rice is in all probability the oldest staple of the area, but at present maize has replaced it as the daily food and rice is reserved largely for feasts. There is a local belief that "rice makes you fat and corn
● [827] makes you strong." A fat body is the criterion of health. In addition to rice and corn there is a large range of other foods, including millet, beans, sweet potatoes, cassava, taro, and a wide variety of tubers. Fruits include oranges, mangoes, papayas, breadfruit, jack fruit, and many kinds of bananas.

462 Theoretically, women are responsible for the cultivation and collec-
[422] tion of all vegetable foods, and theory is reinforced by giving them ownership of all plant produce, regardless of the land and labor men may have invested in its production. Men, on the other hand, control
436 the financial system and the three currencies through which it operates — pigs, gongs, and metal kettledrums called mokos. Arrows too are used for money but only as small change. The monetary value of pigs
435 is highly inflated in relation to their consumption value. Their flesh is
262 rarely eaten except at feasts, in order that their value may be added to the interminable and complex monetary accounting that is basic to ceremonial procedure. In fact, should a pig be killed accidentally, a ceremonial feast of one sort or another is improvised to justify its consumption.

436 Of the three currencies, mokos are undoubtedly the coin of the realm. They range through unequal steps from the value of one rupiah

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tween husband and wife should stop as soon as the wife knows she is 843
pregnant, that is, when she ceases to have monthly periods. With a very 183
young wife who becomes pregnant before her first menses, intercourse should stop when she first notes the physiological changes accompanying pregnancy. In actual practice, however, a husband sometimes has intercourse with his wife until the last month of pregnancy. This is often true for young men who do not have second wives. Older men [915]
who have been able to afford a second wife—and they are in the minority—usually take up residence with the other woman. The result in such polygynous families may be the birth of offspring to alternate wives.

A woman works all through her pregnancy, often doing fairly heavy 843
field labor. It is recognized, however, that work which is too heavy may produce miscarriages, so that women who want children are careful not to overstrain themselves. Food preferences during pregnancy also are recognized and indulged.

There is a series of prenatal taboos, knowledge and observance of which vary greatly from individual to individual. They apply primarily to the mother, but there are one or two applicable to the father as well. For instance, a pregnant woman should not place a new pot on the fire, because if it blackens, her child will be born with patches of darker pigment. A pregnant woman should eat only the less desirable belly portions of rats. If she eats the hind- and forequarters, her child's limbs will spread at birth like those of a rat spitted for roasting. A man should not straighten arrows during his wife's pregnancy, for the child would then be born with eyes rolled to one side. However, after straightening an arrow shaft the father can rub it on his wife's abdomen and the child's eyes will straighten.

There are many such superstitions, but their weight and importance 854
seem no greater than comparable ones in our own society. It is worth 827
noting, however, that these prenatal influences indicate a sense of close intimacy between children and parents and that often there are antidotes for harmful acts. The sense of intimate physiological connection between mother and child persists after birth, so that mothers who were nursing sick infants came to me for medicine they could take in order to cure their children. I could discover no parallel native medication, however.

When labor pains begin, the mother goes to the house of a kins- 844
woman if possible. If no kinswoman's house is near by, she may give birth in her own home. Usually the husband is not present, merely as a matter of good form, although there is no strict rule on this point. The

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one particularly well-built and energetic young man who was still unmarried would have difficulty in procuring a young woman as a wife because his organ was known to be undersized. His father had been concerned about it even when he was a child and had attempted to remedy the situation by massage. On another occasion some women were discussing an ailing boy of two years. They handled his genitals and shook their heads with concern because the male organs were so flaccid. Circumcision is known as a coastal, Mohammedan practice, but it is not followed by the mountain people. Fantan the Interpreter reported overhearing a conversation between two middle-aged women who were comparing the virility of their husbands. One complained that her husband was no longer able to give her sexual satisfaction.

The terms dealing with sexual activities offer two very interesting points in connection with the thesis that sex and food are inextricably associated in the minds of the Atimelangers.

male organs—*batok* (his intestine)
female organs—*boiy* (also verbal form for copulate)
orgasm—*homin ve meli* (heart from it tasty)
male hermaphrodite—*batok muri* (his intestine orange)
female hermaphrodite—*boiy muri* (vagina orange)
philanderer—*tafui* (crab)
illegitimate child—*tafui vi* (crab child)
uvula—*kai boiy bika* (head clitoris)

Of this list perhaps the most interesting features are that the male genitals are associated with his digestive system and that an orgasm is described with a food adjective.

Homosexuality seems to be absent among adults, although again the practice was known among the troops and prisoners on the coast. The attitude is one of not quite understanding why such practices should be desirable rather than one of disapproval. Inquiries into the matter usually precipitated anecdotes about a hermaphrodite from Dikimpe who had died some twenty years before. One of the most complete accounts, which reveals social attitudes toward such a person, as well as toward the two sexes, was given by his grandnephew who had lived with him.

"When Alurkaseni was still small, he was a woman called Tilamani. People would look at him and say, 'This is like a woman but in the middle is a penis.' He wore a woman's loincloth and learned to weave baskets. He even wove areca baskets, which are the most difficult to make. He went to dances and joined in with the women. As he grew up his breasts got big, and men would tug them. Men liked him. He did

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I was still small and could only walk a little. I was trying to climb [59x]
the ladder up into the house. I was standing on the second step when I fell and hit my head on the corn-pounding stone and got a large wound. It didn't heal but got bigger and bigger. [He had just been watching me dress scalp wounds on children.] Then father divined, and the divination revealed that the areca altar and a dead person would have to be placated. A dead person had grabbed me as I was trying to go up the [775]
ladder and that is why I fell. Father fed the dead person two chickens and fed the areca altar a chicken and a pig. Father put the rice and blood in my hand and held my hand to help me smear the altar myself. That night when I went to sleep, I defecated in my loincloth. [It is not customary for toddlers to wear loincloths. I asked about it and he changed the story, saying he was about twelve. I suspected this anecdote was a fantasy in which he assumed the role of the children he had just seen doctored. This was the sort of thing he did often in his dream accounts.] So they divined again. [When a person who has learned [753
toilet habits soils himself, it is considered a sign that he is ill and that 827]
his soul has left him.] This time they discovered they hadn't yet made the Bayorka feast for my paternal grandmother. Father then gave one of her death feasts, but he died before he made her Bayorka feast. I got well.

[He asked if I wanted the story of how he lost his eye.] People were working in Likuwatang making the new trail. We were moving stones when a soldier came and hit me across the neck with a thorny branch. Mauglani, Padamani, Djetlang, and I ran away, following the Limbur ravine. On the way we looked for kanari nuts. At Kelawat-Lanmakani were two sacred pools and a large stone under which it was dry. We [252]
leveled the sand under the stone, made a fire, and roasted cassava to eat [225]
with the nuts. Then we tied bamboo twigs into a torch and with them hunted eels. I shot a large one and we came back, cooked it, and ate it with five or six ears of corn we had. I was just going to sleep that night when I heard a loud noise of bells. My soul vanished. I saw an old man coming down. He said, "Who told you to sleep here?" I said, "Grandfather, we were working on the new trail and the soldiers hit me, so we ran away and came here to sleep on the edge of your house-site." I saw him take out his lime but I didn't see him sprinkle it on my eye. When we woke we found that water was pouring down into our sleeping place, so we moved farther up the bank and sat there until dawn. I said to the three men, "My three friends, last night I dreamed

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159 posed to resemble those of bats.] I told father he had better throw all the cassava away. I was longing for dawn so that we could leave. I said to father, "We had better go back and sleep with mother. We must not sleep here any more." But father did not want to leave. He said I could carry the basket of crabs and crayfish back to mother. I set out. When I came to Talemang, there was a woman who frightened me. She said, "Who are you?" I said, "Is it my name or my father's you do not know?" Then I left her and went on. I met another woman who said, "I am your father's sister, so give me some of your crayfish." I gave her some because I was still small. I came to the middle of the village and it was empty. All the people had gone off to work. Only Alurkomani was there, picking areca. He asked me, "Child, where did you sleep last night, that you are now returning from there?" I told him that an evil spirit had come and that I had been frightened and was going home. I said, "Your younger brother [i.e., Malelaka's father] is guarding the field." I went on. When I reached Tangfei, I heard the people of Alurkowati wailing. I went on to the village, and people said my grandfather, Mangma, was dizzy and people were weeping for him. [Dizziness was considered a bad sign, indicating death and the departure of the soul.] Then I didn't give mother those crayfish and crabs, but went right on into my grandfather's house. When I entered he asked, "Is that Malelaka who has come?" and the people said, "Yes." I gave grandfather the crabs and crayfish. Then he ordered me to fetch my father, but I said that an evil spirit had come to me the night before and I was afraid to go back. So my uncle went to call my father. At this time my grandfather was defecating in his loincloth. He was about to die, but by the time my father came he was coming back to life.

My grandfather recovered. It was time to harvest the rice. We decided to live in Kalmaabui and harvest the field from there. We didn't want to sleep in that field house. My friends from Kalmaabui said to me, "Your mother and father are harvesting rice and you are not helping. You can't sit here doing nothing, so come with us to gather kanari nuts." We went to Wale. We wanted to pick nuts, but we saw they had all been gathered and were piled here and there. Then we saw an old woman asleep wrapped up in her shawl. We didn't know what it was because she was completely covered by it. I called, "Friends, this is an evil spirit that sleeps here." We all ran. One boy took a stone and wanted to throw it at the evil spirit. He said, "Whether it is a human being or an evil spirit, I shall kill it with this stone." Then the old woman woke up and said, "Don't! Don't! I was just scaring you. Don't

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"Tilapada is my husband." Kolpada I told her to get another husband. 159x
The two fought. Then the "wives" said, "Men, come pile the stones 857
[men's work]!" I called to the other "men" to help me while our "wives" cooked sweet potatoes for us. We shot another rat. Kolpada I said, "My husband has just shot a pig. He comes carrying it. He is a rich man. If your husbands are so big, tell them to fetch pigs. If they don't, I am the only one with a rich husband." [At this point the informant and the interpreter were laughing so hard they were scarcely coherent.] The other wives said, "Your husband is a rich man because he fetches pigs; let us eat them. We shall cook rice baskets." So we roasted the rat, and the wives mashed potatoes and made imitation rice baskets. We used flat stones as serving dishes. I divided the meat. Then I said, "I am a man, so I shan't eat of my feast."

[She interrupted herself to say that she had told her friends about her recounting their play activities. They had laughed heartily together. Her friends had said that they would all come themselves to me. They had said, "If you use our names our legs will tickle." This was [827] ● considered a sign that somebody was talking about one.]

Then we said we should dance. Kolpada I said, "My rich husband must begin the dance." So I began the dance. The men all joined me and the wives joined their husbands, putting their arms around them. Two of the other wives danced with me and Kolpada I said, "You are taking my husband. Maybe you have already chewed areca with him [195] [a euphemism for sexual intimacy]." They fought, so I hit them with a rattan switch. After this Kolpada I cooked a large sweet potato for me. Lonmai cooked me only half a one. Kolpada I said, "You are not cooking good food for our husband." Then Kolpada I fought with Lonmai. I said, "Don't fight." Kolpada I said, "We are fighting and our husband is angry with us. We had better stop." Then Kolpada II said, "You are rich and have two wives. They are always fighting. We have only one and have a bit more quiet." Then my two wives cooked for me. The other men said, "Why don't you call us to eat with you?" So I called them to come eat with me. The men ate together in one place and the wives ate together in another.

All this was in one day of play. We had gone to cut weeds, but we didn't work; we just played. Then we decided to cut some weeds. We said, "Each wife must work with her husband." So the husbands and wives worked close to each other. My two wives worked on either side of me. One had areca in her basket and she gave it to me. I split it and divided it. Then Matinglang was angry with Kolang. She said, "My

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had a pig, but I gave it yesterday to Fuimau. I shall follow you in a couple of days." Then they left together. In Rualmelang, Padaboi said, "Let us divine." The divination set the feast day in seven days. Padaboi and Likma came home carrying feast tallies [*djoli*]. I was in the field when they returned. Likma called me. I came and reckoned the people to whom he must give them—Fuimau, Fuifani, and Maliemai. I said that in seven days we must take a pig. Then I awoke. 159X

[Meaning?] This is a true dream. This will come true. [I suspected that she was telling daily events as dreams. A pig had really been given to Fuimau and a feast was due in Rualmelang. I said that I wanted only true dreams. She then told the following.]

Last night I dreamed that the people of Lawatika, carrying clubs, went to seize a pig from Atakalieta of Faramasang. He did not want them to have it. They exchanged blows. Then Atakalieta got a club and hit one of the Lawatika men over the back. I took a long bamboo pole and thrust it between the fighters. I said, "You can't fight with clubs." Atakalieta got a big wound on his forehead. My husband called and told me not to stay there, that there would be a litigation and I would have to be a witness. So I stood off to one side. There was a litigation, and the chief of Atimelang said the Lawatika people were in the wrong because they shot Atakalieta's pig and wounded his head. They had to pay a fine of ten cents for the wound, and Atakalieta got the pig. They went home. I woke up.

[Were you angry or afraid?] I was afraid and stood to one side. I was angry too and wanted to fight with the Lawatika people, but my husband would not let me. He said, "People have received wounds and you will be involved in a litigation."

Last night I dreamed again that I went to Old Atimelang, and there I saw a large ravine. I flew over it and landed in a nabu tree near Lakawati. Suddenly I was in Manetati. There Malema said, "Let us go to Manek." I said that it was far and that I had to weed my gardens at home. I came back here. When I reached the big ravine, I could not walk any more. I went on all fours because the stones were so steep. A man there said I should stand up. I did, and suddenly I flew up and landed in a nabu tree in Atimelang. I thought, "How shall I get down?" This man said, "You can get down." Then I could and I went down to Folafeng. I woke up.

[Flying?] When you sleep with your legs stretched out you can dream of flying and walking. But if you sleep with your legs bent it means you can only crawl. 513 827 828